584 Child betrothal sometimes practiced; boy's father took initiative when son about 10 yrs. old, girl 6; girl's father either paid then or later when marriage consummated. Boy and girl lived with their respective parents until of age to marry, when young man and his father came to girl's house; if she had already been paid for they simply brought acorns, food, baskets, and took her home with them. If no payment had been made, and girl objected to marriage, her opinion might be respected, but if payment made years before her father would tell her, "I got that money for you; now you go!" (MM).

587 583 Man marrying second time did not buy second wife although she belonged to another family than his first wife, or came from another tribe.

582 835 Collateral, lineal blood kin could not marry within 2 ascending or descending generations; marriage between parallel, cross cousins and between first generation offspring of such incestuous. Gifford reports "hearsay cases" of bilateral cross-cousin marriage (Gifford, 1922, 255); a few such have occurred, but are strongly disapproved of. Of 90 recorded marriages 3 such tabooed unions listed: (1) man married mother's brother's daughter, but this speedily ended in divorce; (2) man (1933) cohabiting with father's sister's daughter's daughter, which caused girl's mother to "cry and cry about this, because she was ashamed" (LT); (3) man (1931-33) cohabiting with mother's sister's daughter's daughter, which was regarded as an open scandal and frequently gossiped about.

Brother-sister exchange also disapproved, although criticism not so severe of such unions as incestuous ones mentioned above; brother-sister exchange "too much like marrying relations" (SM), as man's wife's brother would also be his sister's husband and Tübatulabal have 2 terms for these 2 relationships (Gifford, 1917, 223). Genealogies show 2 occurrences of brother-sister exchange.

597 835 Children adopted from another tribe could marry foster-parents' blood relatives if no blood tie existed between latter and adopted person.

595 ●837 Polygyny, polyandry denied by all informants; chiefs had only one wife (SM, FP, PN). No polygynous unions noted in list of 90 marriages; FP left her husband when he brought home second [177] woman (see Autobiography of FP), although she had not yet become Catholicized. Informants remembered a Yokuts who lived among Tübatulabal and had 2 wives. Term wo·'išn, which Gifford gives as identical-reciprocal meaning co-wife, co-husband (Gifford, 1917, 223), informants translated as meaning primarily woman's husband's mistress or man's wife's lover; was never used to denote unmarried woman's lover's second mistress or unmarried man's mistress' second lover; not used vocatively; "somebody else, seeing the mistress of a married man pass, would say to that man's wife, 'There goes your wo·'išn,' and then the fight began" (ES). By extension of term, co-

595 wives of Yokuts man (above) also referred to as
●837 wo·'iin.

In total of 90 unions, 132 male children born,
163 106 females; 23 females or 22 per cent died be-
165 fore they were of age to marry, 29 males or 22 per cent died before they were of marriageable age. This mortality rate for pre-adults probably too low; checking indicated that, in unions occurring 2, 3 generations back, informants were not always sure of exact number of issue of union, and could not be certain how many children of issue had been born dead, or died in infancy. The 90 unions averaged 2.6 children per marriage; this too is minimum figure, as several of marriages on which average is based are continuing at present time.

587 Levirate, sororate affirmed, but not compulsory; genealogies listing 90 marriages show one occurrence of sororate following death of wife; one of levirate when woman married deceased husband's sister's son; no occurrence of man's marrying deceased wife's brother's daughter. If man wanted to marry widow he did not have to ask leave from any member of her deceased husband's family. If sororate, no price paid for second wife.

591 Residence patrilocal in man's father's house when bride purchased; matrilocal in woman's father's house when no purchase price paid. After first child born husband built own house, not necessarily in same hamlet with his father or his wife's father.

586 Divorce.- Divorces infrequent formerly (SM); if wife left husband, purchase money not refunded by her parents. Of 45 marriages occurring in last 30-40 yrs., 19 were continuing in 1933, 17 had been terminated by death of one spouse, 9, or 20 per cent, had ended in divorce, 5 divorces being between full bloods, 4 between fullblood men or
[578] women, white women or men. Of divorces between full bloods, jealousy on part of husband or wife cause for 2; "mean temper," nagging on part of wives, both Owens Valley Paiute women, cause of 2; reason for 5th case unascertained, but was not barrenness; although 3 of foregoing 5 unions barren, lack of children not cited as reason for divorce.

Children of divorced couple remained with mother, who usually returned to her parents' home both in event of divorce or temporary separations from her husband.

602 Kinship taboos.- Man addressed mother-in-law
784 in plural, never in singular; this usage reflected in mythology, where plural is also used to denote frigid politeness, scornfulness (Voegelin, 1935 b, 211, 229, 235). None of other mother-in-law taboos as listed by Gifford (Gifford, 1922, 260) practiced by Tübatulabal; although both men, women treated parents-in-law with respect they were not "bashful" in their presence.

682 721 Murders not condoned, either within or outside tribe; murder committed by member of neighboring tribe constituted cause for war against tribe to which murderer belonged.

685 671 Theft usually went unpunished; theft of money did not often occur, because it was kept well hidden. When currency displayed, as at face washings, it was kept in money jars; at games there were persons present whose duty it was to keep watch over bets made. Other valuables besides money also "hidden good"; if stolen, as occasionally happened, shaman sometimes denounced thief, ordered him to return goods (see Autobiography of FP). If caches of piñons, acorns robbed, "the owner usually didn't know about it, because the caches were so big" (SM); MM said thief caught in act lectured severely, but otherwise went unpunished.

685 425 Finder of hidden property entitled to keep full amount of property found, even though owner might still be alive.

622 422 578 627 In hunting, if 2 or more men shot at deer, he whose arrow first touched deer could claim it, although another man's arrow might have killed animal; disputes which sometimes started when this happened were taken to chief who settled them according to foregoing rule.

684 626 Marrying one's relative (see section on Cycle of Life) constituted grave moral offense which roused disapproval of entire community, but no formal punishment accorded either member of couple. Adultery disapproved, but was not punished and was "not nearly so bad as a man's marrying his cousin." Parents forbid girls to enter promiscuously into sex relationships, but admonitions often went unheeded, "just as they do now" (FP); young people often mated at dances.

[837] [836]

626 577 A good man, man with a big heart, did not become angry quickly, was quiet, took care of his family well, was not lazy and, when told to do something, did not immediately jump up and do it, but was leisurely and dignified in his actions. "Young men had to learn to be this way" (SM, MM). Men who became angry quickly were referred to as men with small hearts. Industriousness won praise, but neither attainment of wealth nor bravery in war stressed as ideals. Parents, older persons taught young people (p. 46; Voegelin, 1935 b, 223).

Stingy persons who did not contribute their full share to fiestas subject to public criticism by chief or dance manager, also to supernatural punishment by shaman. Braggarts who boasted about what they would do in critical situations, but who failed when faced with such, subjected to ridicule and memory of their failure served as subject matter for anecdotal material. Lazy women and women who fought, "pulling each other's hair, until their husbands had to separate them," incurred general criticism of community.

[578]

576 Greeting used after short absence is ma', hello; Voegelin gives several more exclamatory particles (Voegelin, 1935 a, 180). Expressions for good morning, good noon, good evening also

576 used now. Farewell salutation is "I'm going now; goodbye." Greeting between strangers, persons who had not seen each other for some time is "Hello, where do you come from?" No handshaking. Tübatulabal "liked to see strangers" (SM); visitors given gifts of piñons, chia, "just the same as now, we give piñons to everyone who comes up to the piñon camps" (ES); young girls enjoined to be hospitable (ante). In times of scarcity, however, food was bought; person who had stores of it "wasn't expected to give it away" (SM).

Mothers kissed children occasionally; adults did not kiss (SM).

578 Jealousy on part of man, woman, sometimes led to separations (ante; Voegelin, 1935 b, 235); jealousy over man might start 2 women fighting, but men "didn't fight that way over a woman, generally" (SM).

685 SM had never heard of any member of community
158 who deliberately set fire to others' property;
[753] insane persons (tohoyi-wut) "just had to be watched; nothing was done about them. One woman went crazy a few yrs. ago, because a witch put something in her ear and made her that way; she wouldn't go to a doctor and so she died in the Stockton asylum after she was there a year" (SM).

522 At fiestas during dances at night, if woman
[624] slipped away to keep rendezvous, when she returned
[837] dance leader would grasp her by arm, dust her off with bunch of feathers, much to everyone's amusement, woman's confusion (SM). Young mature girls, if they surprised boy of about 12 in swimming would surround him, chaff him; boy would beg to be allowed to leave and often run away crying (MM). An example of what is considered humorous occurs in anecdote of man in deer-head decoy who was mistaken for deer by mt. lion and attacked by animal; man's brother, standing off at safe distance, saw this occur, but instead of going to hunter's aid he remained where he was and "just laughed and laughed" as lion leaped on hunter.

181 Garcés in 1775 was hospitably received by (Palagewan?) group on unaugmented Kern and characterized the people as "affable and affectionate" (Garcés, 281). When first approached, Tübatulabal show marked reserve which can easily be mistaken for indifference, or even unfriendliness; in time,
[171] however, this reserve disappears, as Steward notes of Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1935, 238), and informants prove friendly, interested, generous, and honest. Men and women are generally energetic in their daily life, and attentive to detail in work. Women often voice expressions of sympathy for the young, weak, or suffering; when SM's pet dog was shot SM "cried and cried" for several
[674] days. I heard of only one theft among Tübatulabal during my work with them. The older members of the group, especially, have a high reputation for dependability and trustworthiness among their white neighbors.

516 Postures.- Men sat (a) right knee bent, weight resting on right heel; left foot flat on ground,

159 much. An Indian agent had come, Anderson; he used
636 to live at Tule River reservation. All the Indians had gotten land; Steban and everybody (in 1893). The Indian agent gave my father and mother land at Canebrake. My parents went to Canebrake to live and Pete and I moved up there with them.

159 There was a witch at Canebrake and she made
754 me sick all the time, like I am now. My husband and my mother took me to a doctor at Paiute; he was a good Indian doctor. He said, "Don't you live up there at Canebrake any more; you stay some other place." So we all moved down to yïtiyamup; Steban and his wife owned yïtiyamup by that time.

159 Steban's mother was living with Steban and
578 his wife up there. I used to quarrel with my
606 mother-in-law; she was mean, that woman. My sister-in-law was a nice woman and for her sake sometimes I wouldn't say anything to our mother-in-law. Sometimes my mother-in-law would scold me and then cry afterward; she would feel bad about it, I suppose.

159 Sometimes they made fiestas there at Steban's.
525 They played handgames all night; everybody stayed
578 up all night. Two doctors were over there at a
[273] fiesta once; one, Old Bill Chico, got drunk and got mad at an old woman. "I'm going to kill all the people," he said, and one woman came and hit him over the ear. They had built a fire in the middle between 3 houses that were there, on some level ground. When Bill Viejo was hit he went over to his wife by the fire; his wife told him to keep still and not to talk like that.

159 My husband used to get drunk sometimes. He be-
273 gan going with a woman up at Onyx when he was
● 837 drunk; he brought that woman home with him to our house at yïtiyamup. I left there then and went back to my parents' home. They were living at u·u·pu·lap then. Pete took that woman to yïtiyamup with him, but his mother didn't like her because she drank too much and went around with many men. That woman stayed a long time at the rancheria and Pete went to work cattle at Kelso valley. Pete was mean when he was drunk; I guess he was jealous; that's why that woman left him and went to Tule River reservation. She married over there and died there.

159 I didn't go back to Pete for a yr.; I didn't
797 want him any more. Then a priest came traveling around here; first he went down to the Jesus ranch (no. 13, fig. 11), then up to Onyx. He talked to us; he prayed and we did, too; we prayed in Spanish. All the Indians went there where he was; I went; my parents didn't go. We all prayed and sang loudly; every day for a week he talked to us. I was baptized that time.

159 That priest said Pete and I had to be married.
582 "You'd better get your man back; if you don't you aren't going to live any longer," he told me. The priest had a ramada made, up at Onyx, and told everybody to come there for a week; he told everybody to pray there, morning and afternoon.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

223. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we talk to the shamans," he is saying. 224. "Good," the people are saying. 225. "Tomorrow," the clown is saying. 226. Then they talked to those shamans that next day. 227. "That clown is wanting to see you," the people are saying. 228. "You test yourselves," the clown is saying. 229. "Good," the shamans are saying, "and tomorrow we will test," the shamans are saying. 230. "And I will put up one woman and one man," the clown is saying, "these will look after you," he is saying. 231. "Good," the shamans are saying. 232. Then that next day those shamans got marked. 233. One woman and one man marked them. 234. Then those shamans put on their own feathers and also their own belts. 235. Then they all three stood there. 236. Then one man started a fire in the middle. 237. Then one shaman sat there by the edge of the fire. 238. He is holding his own basket tray in his own hand. 239. "Already," the clown is saying, "you test him." 240. Then that shaman, the Tübatulabal shaman, warmed up his own basket tray (over the fire). 241. Then those Yokuts shamans danced. 242. Then one shot that Yokuts shaman. 243. When he shot, he dropped down. 244. Then that woman, the caretaker, got up in order to come to him when he dropped down. 245. Then that woman lifted that shaman from here to there when he was dying. 246. She put him in the shade. 247. Then he is not powerful enough for the taking out of his own shot. 248. Then that shaman, the shooter, flew from here to there toward him. 249. Then he took that out with that basket tray; he swung that (basket tray) on top of him; he took that (shot) out for him. 250. Then from there he shot another one again. 251. Then also from there he shot again; he shot three times. 252. He is not powerful enough for his touching that one. 253. Then also from there again he shot another one twice. 254. He did nothing to him. 255. "So, you (plural) have strength," he is saying, "you are good shamans," he is saying. 256. Then from there they quit. 257. Then the clown spoke: "Pretty soon we quit; we will go back again toward our own houses," the clown is saying. 258. Then from there they all take leave. 539 X 159 624 527 789 756

259. Then from there I used to work all the time. 260. Then from there I used to go to the north fork (of the Kern River). 261. Then, when going and arriving there (at Kernville), I am sitting behind the store, one man and I are sitting (there). 262. Then a girl came there. 263. Then she saw me when I am sitting there and she is laughing at me when she sees me. 264. Then from there she entered in the store. 265. Then I am merely sitting there. 266. Then from there to here she went out from the store; she put on a new hat; she bought it. 267. Then from there, "Let's go," she is saying to me. 268. From there we came to this side; my horse is standing there. 269. Then from there we came; we double-mounted my horse. 270. Then we stood in the grass, in the deep brush. 271. We dismounted there. 272. Right away we copulated; the woman is very erotic; she is holding me tightly when she copulates. 273. There we slept right there. 274. From there I came in the morning to my own work. 275. Then from there she came to her own house in Bull Run. 276. Then from there I went again after two or three days. 277. Then from there again I found different women. 278. Then I took her right away. 279. Right away, also, we copulated there. 280. It is (what) I am doing to them all the time; I am copulating with different (women). 281. Then from there after a while I married that woman whom I found the first day. 282. Then I brought her to my own house. 283. There I lived for a long time with her—five years. 284. Then from there we discarded each other. 285. Then I quit her. 286. I never took her again. 287. Then I lived here alone; having finished discarding (my wife), I am just the same finding girls. 288. Then again I found one girl. 289. Then, "Quit her," my mother is saying, "I do not like them (the new wife, referred to in the plural by her mother-in-law)," she is saying; "someone is saying your wife (the new one) is her (the divorced one's) younger sister," she is saying; "you desire in future another one," she is saying. 290. "Good," I am saying. 539 X 159 832 833 837 836 [591] [588] [606]

291. Then from there I got sick. 292. Then I went to a shaman. 293. Then the shaman doctored me there. 294. Then, "I cannot touch you," he is saying; "that one doing it to you (i.e., causing you to be ill) is living down there," he is saying, "that very one is living," he is saying. 295. I am saying nothing when he says this. 296. From there I come 539 X 159 756

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying. 539X 159 682 648

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out. 539X 159 682 648

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there. 539X 159 833 837● [582]

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying. 539X 159 636 837

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

442. Then I lived with her six years. 443. Then that woman has meanness; she is fighting me. 444. Then from there I ran away from that woman.

445. Then from there I found another woman. 446. I married that woman. 447. I lived with her a long time. 448. The good woman is saying nothing (mean) in the ten years I lived with her.

449. Then after that, "Let's go to my house," I am saying. 450. "Good," she is saying. 451. We came from there. 452. Then we arrived (here). 453. Then I used to work (in) the hay when it was being cut. 454. Then from there we went to visit people at Onyx. 455. We went and arrived there. 456. Then that one girl (my former wife) came out from there to here when she saw us arriving. 457. Straightway, it is said, she is laughing. 458. "Hello," she is saying. 459. "And also you, hello," we are saying. 460. Then she gave me her own hand. 461. Then we came back from there in the evening. 462. Then that next day my wife scolded me. 463. "Straightway you (plural, in frigid politeness) are laughing at your own friend when you see her," she is saying, "perhaps the girl (is) your wife," she is saying. [195] 464. Then she became angry. 465. Then, "I am wanting to go," she is saying, "to my own house." 466. "Good," I am saying when she is speaking.

467. Then I took her from there; we went on my own horse. 468. We went back (to Bishop). 469. We went far away and slept; from there also we went that next day. 470. Then also we went and slept again. 471. From there also we went again. 472. We went for five days. 473. Then we went and arrived at the house of that woman. 474. Then the next day I got ready to come back from there. 475. Then, "Don't go," that woman is saying, "I will not get angry again," she is saying. 476. Then I lived back there again.

477. Then from there after a while she became angry again. 478. She is jealous of that girl. 479. Then from there I spoke, "So you will not live well, and I will go back (to Kern River)," I am saying. 480. Then from there I went toward the store, having finished speaking. 481. Then from there I took the train; from there I came. 482. Then I came and arrived in the valley. 483. I got down there. 484. From there I came on foot. 485. Then I came and arrived at my own house, it being evening. 486. Then I lived in my own house; I lived here alone that time. 487. Then that woman wrote, "That (is) good, come back again," she is saying. 488. Then I spoke to my own father, "I took the writing of that woman," I am saying, "and she is calling me," I am saying to my own father. 489. "This (is) good, you go and see her in future." 490. Then from there I went on horseback; I went five days. 491. Then I went and arrived. 492. Straightway my wife is laughing when she sees me. 493. Then I lived there; I lived there a long time.

494. Then from there I came toward my own house. 495. "Let me go see my own father after a while," I am saying; "later on I will come back." 496. Then, "Good," she is saying. 497. From there I came. 498. Then I arrived here. 499. Right away, when arriving, I got a job. 500. Then I worked all summer and also one winter.

501. Then the woman wrote there, "You come in future," she is saying, "right away." 502. Then I went right away. 503. Then I went and arrived. 504. I lived there. 505. Then from there we went toward Bishop. 506. Then we were called there. 507. "That one, your younger sister, is sick," they are saying to my wife. 508. Then we went there to her house. [845] 509. Then she gave birth already. 510. Then she got sick; her blood got hard inside; that killed her. 511. Then they gave the little baby, Mickey, to my wife. 512. We raised that [768] (baby). 513. Then he grew up well. 514. Then he is wandering along with me all the time. [592] 515. Then my wife is angry all the time.

516. Then from there I went to one Mexican; he is selling drinks. 517. Then I bought one bottle. 518. Then I drank that once; I drank pretty soon. 519. From there I went. 520. Then I got lost with that drink; I did not know anything. 521. I turned over there. 522. Then the machine pinned me underneath. 523. It split my head open. 524. Then I became [873] unconscious there. 525. Then three men came and arrived there. 526. Then they put up that machine. 527. Then they pulled me out. 528. Then they brought me toward Bishop, to the doctor there, and I am not knowing anything about it. 529. Then, it is said, many